192

/A French-Uru vocabulary list may be found in the foreign text of this source, category 116, pp. 90-110./

[For an extended French-Uru (Chipaya dialect) word list, and fuller Uru texts, see 2: Métraux, this file, category 116, foreign text, pp. 188-239.]

/89 cont./

French-Uro Vocabulary

/104 The phonetic system used in this article is the same as the one that /90/ Dr. Paul Rivet uses in his article on the Uro language (1): č corresponds to the Spanish "ch"; š to the French

1. See note 1, p. 1.

"ch"; ǰ is an affricate which would be transcribed as "dj" in French; x is the Spanish "j," and l' the "ll" or liquid l of the same language. The combined sign kˣ is a half-occlusive, the cutting-off of which produces a sound close to the Spanish "j." A mark under the vowels indicates that they are very open. ẉ is a semi-vowel which is close to w.

193 The grammar of the Uro of Ancoaqui does not seem to
197 differ from that of the dialect of the Čipaya. One finds the same verbal endings, the same suffixes, etc.

192 The words preceded by one asterisk are those which are derived from Aymara, those marked with two asterisks derive from Spanish, and with three, from Kičua /Quechua/. /The word list, pp. 90-110, is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

/121/

621 616 [77] Aymara and Kičua /Quechua/ communities recalls the nonexogamous moieties /in English/ or phratries of the North American tribes with which I would not dare, however, to liken them.

These two parts of the tribe, so clearly differentiated in space, have a very strong individuality. They constitute two [222] [292] practically independent units, without any other tie than the communal celebration of certain festivals and the recognition of a chief with poorly defined functions and, of recent creation, the corregidor.

621 616 578 [273] An antagonism exists between the two sections which is manifested in a violent form in the course of the great festivals celebrated by the tribe as a whole. Bloody fights then break out between the members of the two saya inflamed by alcohol. These squabbles are considered a necessary complement of the merry-making. [123] Battles between the two parts of Chipaya are so common that one Indian announced to me one day that he was glad of my presence in the village at carnival time for, he added, the two "moieties" would not dare to insult each other in front of strangers and so there should be no dramatic incidents to deplore. As the guest of one of the sections I never enjoyed the trust and sympathy in the other that the people of "my" section displayed toward me. Outside of festivals and assemblies called to discuss general tribal affairs the two saya ignore each other, and although their existences follow a parallel plan these are only rarely mingled.

621 616 [192] [195] When they are talking to a stranger the Čipaya designate the two divisions of their village by the Aymara names manan-saya and aran-saya, but in their language manan-saya is called tuanta and aran-saya, taxata. Now, these two words mean "east" and "west" (taxata is derived from the root tax: back) and simply indicate that these two sectors are oriented according to these two cardinal points. Several times when I was talking to them about 621 616 614 their social organization the Čipaya called these two sectors ayl'u manan-saya and ayl'u aran-saya. If we were to take our informant literally each section would constitute a clan. But I do

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/326 cont./

them most totally ignorant of the outward forms of Catholicism. But rarely in the prayers addressed to the old Andean divinities or demons is no mention made of the Virgin and the saints. Sometimes even the latter alone are invoked in the course of ceremonies which have nothing Christian about them.

There would be little required for certain festivals, such as those of San Jerónimo and Candlemas, to receive the approbation of the most scrupulous esslesiastic on the subject of rites. The procession which they organize during this festival is a simple parody of those they make under the direction of their curé.

In church they pray before the altars, burn church candles in honor of the saints, and ring the bells each day at the prescribed hours. A special official, the mayordomo, is responsible for the upkeep of the church and the manufacture of the candles, and must in addition ring the bells.

Several festivals are celebrated under the patronage of a saint and coincide with those of the Catholic calendar.

To this Catholic influence another of a secular character must be joined. The ceremonious salutations which form one of the obligatory interludes of every festival are clearly reminiscent of the old Castilian embrace. The wishes of suma-hora, "in good time," which are pronounced at the same time constitute a certain sign of the Spanish origin of several rules of Čipaya courtesy. The president and organizer of the festival bears the name of alferez, "banner-carrier," and his dignity is symbolized by a standard (wandera). The title and insignia are Spanish, but this office in several of its aspects clearly seems to be in the Indian tradition.

Short of admitting that formerly the Čipaya were in close contact with a village of Bolivian half-breeds, which is perhaps not to be ruled out, everything seems to indicate that these foreign influences came to them through the Aymara. When I make a study of the Čipaya vocabulary, I shall have constant opportunity to indicate this impregnation of Aymara in the Čipaya language and

/326 cont./

mentality. A great part of their lexicographic store is clearly of Aymara origin, and this neglect of their early language has not only affected rare words but also those most frequently used, such as "brother," "sister," "good," "bad," "hello," etc. All the Čipaya without exception are bilingual, and even among themselves they do not always use their old Uro dialect. The invasion of Aymara words and phrases has brought with it one of Spanish and even Kičua /Quechua/ words. The prayers which nearly to the last detail are all in Aymara, are /327/ in addition sprinkled with Spanish expressions, which are found even in the most brief invocations or formulas. If the Čipaya formerly did have a group of oral rites which were their own, these have completely disappeared in order to make room for the Aymara ritual. This penetration must only have been effected in the course of the last centuries, as is proved by the number of Spanish words and formulas which, as I have just said, form an integral part of the religious texts.

Čipaya music has a purely Aymara character, and it is not impossible that it has also undergone a distant Spanish influence. The instruments on which it is executed are identical with those which one finds all over the altiplano. This activity of the Aymara in the field of music continues to our day, and I have witnessed real music lessons given the Čipaya Indians by Aymara or Aymara half-breeds. The best Čipaya musicians have had their apprenticeship outside their village.

The pagan ceremonies which I witnessed in Chipaya greatly recall the idolatrous practices the survival of which was denounced by the Spanish inquisitors in the Peru of the seventeenth century. They also have a close affinity with the secret cults of the Aymara. These similarities, which often extend to details of the lowest degree, attest to the uniformity of beliefs and popular rites throughout the whole Andean region which was under Inca influence. On this common basis developed the more complex religions of the great, vanished empires. The affinities between Čipaya and Aymara, chiefly in the religious sphere, are so close that we can

/328 cont./

addressed soely to her person. The homage rendered her is associated with the festivals celebrated in honor of demons, sacred stones (samiri), and San Jerónimo.

It is for the Pača-mama that candies are put in the hollow at the foot of the effigy of the demon "to sweeten her," and for her also plants thrust into a lump of tallow are buried and animals molded in tallow offered, no doubt, to the demons.

The mal'ku. The Aymara word mal'ku, which in Bertonio's dictionary (1) is translated "chief," "señor de Vassallos /lord of vassals/," has a more extended meaning today and expresses a notion of a religious order. In the Aymara texts which constitute the oral ritual of the Čipaya, the qualifier or title of mal'ku is bestowed upon the Earth-mother, the Lauca River, certain mountain peaks, and the church tower. This same word is joined to diverse proper names borne by some curious monuments that the Čipaya hold in great veneration. These are cones of earth from 1.20 to 1.70 meters high, nine of which stand around the village within a radius of five to 15 kilometers. They are constructed like the Čipaya houses of champas, i.e. clods cut out of the sod and placed in such a way as to form a compact mass which is covered with a whitish coating (Pl. XI, A /see p. 132/). All these monuments have a small cellar at their base carefully closed with a plug of earth; the Indians bury the offerings they make to the demon of the place there. On one of the cones a niche oriented toward the east replaced /329/ the cellar. These monuments are sometimes supported by an oval platform about one meter high. Beside the cone, which occupies the central part of the platform,

1. Bertonio (F. Ludovico)
Vocabulario de la lengua aymará
/Vocabulary of The Aymara
Language/ (Reissued by J. Platzmann).
Second part. Leipzig, 1879. p. 220.

M
776 /334 cont./ The word apu, which formerly signified "chief" and which consequently is synonymous with mal'ku and auki, is today used to designate demons or spirits.

U
778
784 The cones of earth, which are mal'ku par excellence, play
[791] a foremost role in the religious life of the Čipaya. The majority
U of the solemn festivals of these Indians are in their honor. When
791 in a sacrifice the magician offers the victim's blood to the mal'ku,
[825] he never fails to sprinkle the four cardinal points with it while uttering the name of the mal'ku who live in each quarter of space.

U
778 The samiri. The worship of the samiri constitutes the most interesting aspect /335/ of the pagan religion of the Čipaya. The samiri are flat stones of calcareous origin with no set shape. Those of the saya tuanta are kept in a small cellar about 40 cm. deep and 60 cm. long, situated about ten kilometers from the village, in the area where the wretched pastures give way to the sands of the puna. The pit is housed on a knoll and carefully hidden under a yareta.

U
778
231 The samiri are supposed to protect the livestock, and in the prayers addressed to them a distinction is drawn between the samiri of the llamas, those of the pigs, and those of the sheep, and it is from them that the increase of these animals is awaited. The Čipaya also call samiri a stuffed lamb which they bury within the
U fold to watch over the flock. The word samiri is thus equivalent
778 to konopa, a generic term which was used to designate the fetishes
192 or amulets upon which the ancient Peruvians depended for the
I prosperity of their herds, their fields, or their houses (1).
778
231

1. On the konopa, the compilation of Jijón y Caamaño, La religión del Imperio de los Incas, pp. 99-103, and Latcham, Las creencias religiosas de los antiguos Peruanos, pp. 55-62, may be consulted.

/347 cont./

*796 prehistoric necklaces, in each cupule. He did the same with a piece of iron pyrite. His helper put small pieces of gold and silver leaf, small quantities of pink and blue mineral powder, incense, cinnamon bark, white and black maize flour, etc. in each cupule.

*796 539 The Officiant then planted a cross and his sacred stick facing east and knelt before them. He then began to recite, with eyes half-closed, in a loud and penetrating voice a series of prayers, of which I was able to record the following:

Tata	Santiago,	araxpaǩa	Santiago,	kimsatunxsoxtani
Father	Santiago,	sky	Santiago,	36

platu	resibite	tarapital'a,	ukˣaro	Santo San Felipe,	
dishes	receive	thou wilt receive,	next	Saint Saint Philip	
ukˣaro	Santo	San	Geronimo,	Santo Yunguyo(1)	resibe
next	Saint	Saint	Jerome,	Saint Yunguyo	receive

[103]

1. Yunguyo is the name of a group of huts where Espíritu Mamani, who recited this prayer to me, lived.

tarapital'a	aka insensio,	resibe	tarapital'a	
thou wilt receive	this incense,	receive	thou wilt receive	
todos abogados	araxpaǩa,	suma karpa,	waino (2)	karpa,
all intercessors,	sky,	good rain,		rain,

[193]
[192]

2. This word, which always precedes a significant word — "rain," "weather," or "year," has always been translated for me by "good"; I have felt some doubts, however, about the precision of my transcription. Its pronunciation

*794
639
[93]
[92]

/347 cont./

has seemed to me sometimes wainu, sometimes l'anu. In the first case one could relate it to the Kičua waina and conjecture that through a strange semantic evolution the word "young" came to mean "good." It is also possible that l'ano is the Uro word for "good," which has today been replaced by the Aymara suma.

apanital'a	l'ano(2)	karpa	araxpačа	hasiru,	kočeru
send to me	good	rain	sky	shadow	lagoons of water

2. /Refers to preceding note./

niviru,	araxpačа	makinero,	araxpačа	barkiru
snow	sky	engineer	sky	boatman

/348/ "Santiago, (our) father, Santiago of the sky, receive these 36 dishes, next Saint Philip, next Saint Jerome, next Saint Yunguyo, receive them as also this incense. You all who are our intercessors in the sky, send us good rains, shadows of the sky (clouds), lagoons of water and snow, you who are the engineers, the boatmen of the sky."

Taki	kimsa	pakxal'u	uyuwiri	Wirxina,
All	three	heads of livestock	foster-mother	Virgin,

kača	pakxal'a	uyuwiri	Wirxina,
large	heads of livestock	foster-mother	Virgin,

kulumayu	uyuwiri	Wirxina,	čita	mama	uyuwiri.
pigs	foster-mother	Virgin,	sheep	mother	foster-mother.

/382 cont./

592 The number of spirits which rule over a household may be
342 even more considerable. In a prayer of Aymara origin which I
*778 recorded among the Čipaya, in the course of a sacrifice made to the demons of the house, the shed and the kitchen are invoked at the same time as the court.

342 Building a house gives rise to various ceremonies which re-
[97] cur uniformly throughout the territory inhabited by the Aymara.
[982] There is no Čipaya hut on which one does not see to the left of the door upon entering the blackish spot of blood with which it was sprinkled after its erection. The inside of the roof also bears
[574] traces of bloody sprays. This sacrifice is followed by a feast, the costs of which are borne by the owner of the new dwelling, and to which he invites all those who, relatives or friends, have aided
342 him in the work of construction. The occasion is used to offer up
982 many libations and to ask, probably of the protecting spirits,
539 that "the straw (of the roof), that the house, that the hut for the kitchen be good, that it last for many years."

Ačokˣal'a	kˣoya	kamantaika	suma	haš̌k	wata
Straw	house	kitchen for	good	many	year

awantil'a (1) kˣoya-ki.
endure house this.

1. From the Spanish aguantar, "to endure."

[192] /383/ A beautiful example of the frightful jargon, a mixture of Čipaya, Aymara, and Kiču̇a /Quechua/ words, which the Indians use in their conversations with the divinities.

*778 The titi-mal'ku is honored each time that an Indian returns
782 home to the village after a long stay in his "water house." As the
[221] number of titi-mal'ku in Chipaya is limited, I would not have

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/176 cont./

415 Besides these vessels of archaic form which have not been
[190] shaped with the help of a potter's wheel, the Čipaya use locally
[439] produced receptacles, the technique of which is more advanced and influenced by European civilization. These vessels are produced in quantity in various regions of the altiplano and bear trademarks.

The Čipaya take good care of their ceramics, each piece of which represents a pecuniary sacrifice for them; hence many pots for daily use are wrapped in a protective sheath of undressed leather (Fig. 6, C /see p. 165/).

[192] The names (maska, lūš, čua yuru, oč, yakina) that the Čipaya give the different pieces of pottery they use are always
[194] Aymara. One can deduce from this that the Uro did not know this industry or that they have been dependent on the Aymara for a long time in this respect.

283 Spinning. The raw sheep's wool (uš-čuma) or llama wool (xwal-čuma) is rolled around the left arm and spun by means of a spindle (t^{h}eri) (Fig. 4, H /see p. 157/). The spindle stick is not surmounted by any enlargement. The weight /whorl/ (waiñu) is now of turned wood, but I was still able to obtain two specimen crudely carved with a knife.

[284] To spin, a bit of wool is pulled out and attached to the spindle by a /177/ slipknot. The movement communicated to the spindle is made by holding the thumb against the index and middle finger of the left hand, from right to left. When the spindle has begun to turn, the male or female spinner rapidly brings the right hand toward the left, following the thread (kauni) being formed. This movement is to even the thread. Once the hands are together, he draws out the wool and repeats the twisting movement. The spindle is suspended at the end of the thread, or, when the spinner is seated, it turns in a bowl (Pl. V, B /see p. 214/). When a certain length of thread has been obtained it is unrolled from the top part of the spindle and rolled on below. A new loop is made and the spindle is placed in action again in the way indicated. The threads obtained by this method are generally very thin. For weaving

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/185 cont./

534 In La Musique des Incas /The Music of the Incas/,
[113] R. d'Harcourt reproduces several similar flutes as well as straight flutes with mouthpieces of an identical construction. He was, unfortunately, unable to give anything more specific than "Bolivia" for the provenance of these instruments.

While examining the contents of one of the huts that the
[237] Čipaya use for storage, I had the good fortune to discover a flute with mouthpiece made from a wing bone of a condor (Fig. 8, G /see p. 173/). The block inserted in the opening is, as for the preceding flutes, made of wood, and it also has six holes.

If the mellow flutes with which we have been occupied up to here are locally produced, this is not the case with the pinkúl'u, another type of flute with mouthpiece which is of a more complicated construction although based on the same principle. The six holes are contrived on a slightly depressed surface which facilitates the play of the fingers. Figure 8, C presents one of these pinkul'u, which I acquired on the frontier of Bolivia and Argentina. The
[177] [839] Čipaya pinkul'u are identical and without doubt come from some Bolivian village. They abound in all the Aymara and Quichua markets.

The tola flutes with mouthpieces are often provided with a small rounded whistle near the mouth. Unfortunately I never had the opportunity to acquire a specimen of one, the owners of these perfected instruments always refusing to sell them to me.

[192] The flutes with mouthpieces receive the name, in the Uro-Čipaya dialect, täks, a generic designation for "flutes." These instruments are basically used for /186/ secular purposes and have no other end than to enliven festive days.

533 While there are very few Čipaya who know how to play the
535 quena, almost all the men have a flute with mouthpiece and take part in the concert which is organized on festive occasions. The dancers accompany themselves on this instrument even while executing intricate figures. During a religious ceremony the Indians may also play a little melody from time to time while seated.

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/338 cont./ Uro, as much in Chipaya as
192 in Ancoaqui, has been absorbed by Aymara. I have indicated in my
197 dictionary the words or roots of Aymara origin with one asterisk,
those of Spanish provenance with two, and Kičua /Quechua/ roots
with three. If one counts up all the words of foreign origin, one will
see that they constitute an impressive percentage in comparison with
the purely Uro words. The latter, moreover, such as they may be,
[193] always have an Aymara doublet to which an Uro ending is simply
added. According to the individual, the number of Aymara roots
which recur in their speech varies: the young people who have
traveled are naturally more inclined than the old to stuff Uro phrases
with Aymara words and terms. They know the corresponding Uro
word but forget to use it; little by little they will leave them aside
191 and the latter will disappear. The infiltration of Aymara is already
197 so acknowledged that even children eight to ten years old speak it
fluently. Čipaya who, for one reason or another, have been absent
from their villages for several years, are subsequently reluctant to
use their old language; even the women, who hardly ever leave their
village, all express themselves in Aymara. This influence of Ay-
mara on Uro dates from a long time ago. Naturally, the battle be-
tween the two languages will end with the elimination of that of the
197 weaker and more backward people. In the Čipaya dialect words as
192 common as "brother" and "sister" have already disappeared before
their Aymara equivalents. This example alone says much on the
[193] state of decomposition of Uro. This disintegration has not only
affected the vocabulary but also the grammar: the negations, ad-
verbs, adverbial locutions are purely Aymara.

One will be struck on casting an eye on this vocabulary by the large number of Spanish words adopted by the Uro-Čipaya. I myself was surprised to ascertain this penetration of Spanish in the language of a people who live so isolated and find themselves in direct contact with no city or even village where Spanish is spoken. I would have attributed this phenomenon to the sojourns and trips which the Čipaya made a few years ago to Chile. If one examines the Spanish elements that Uro contains, however, one cannot consider them as recent

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197 borrowings. When one sees conjunctions like "when" rendered by
192 the hybrid word culora (at what time), one is forced to admit that the influence of Spanish on Uro is old and has been exerted with particular strength. It is possible that these Indians formerly lived near Spanish establishments on the banks of the Desaguadero. One /339/ must also not forget that a number of Spanish elements have come to them by way of the Aymara. It is also through the Aymara that so many Kičua terms have crept into Uro, yet certain ones seem to have been transmitted to them through contact with groups speaking Kičua (ex: wata: "year"; wiri: "behind," etc. etc.)

124 The texts noted down very clearly illustrate this complete
191 disintegration of Uro: the purely Uro words are only wreckage which
197 float in the context. These accounts are not even the first flow from my informant, who dictated Aymara to me slightly colored with Uro, and it was only by insisting that I obtained a purer version. This method had the disadvantage of denaturing the account: my
[128] speaker, forced to express himself in a language which had become somewhat unfamiliar to him, having a tendency to simplify or shorten his expressions.

126 The present state of Uro explains in part the insufficient number of texts collected. There is another reason for this gap in my documentation: the mental life of the Čipaya is so poor, their activities so few, that there is no material sufficiently rich among them to be the subject of somewhat extensive accounts. They have no myths at all, and one can hardly give this name to the few stories of Aymara origin that I was able, with great effort and expense, to gather during my stay among them. When I asked them to give me an account of their activities in Uro, they discharged this duty with a few phrases which effectively summarized their monotonous
115 activities. My investigation was made still more difficult by the apathy and stupidity of my informants, who were incapable of giving me a somewhat coherent narrative. There they were, stammering, obstinately stumbling, and passively refusing to understand what I wanted of them. This brutishness of the Čipaya was obvious to me

/341 cont./

194 ỹ = English "j," dj in French.

t^{s} = an affricate generally transcribed ts.

w = "w" in English ("water").

l' = a liquid "l" as in Spanish. It is possible that I may have sometimes mixed it up with y.

p^{h} = a p, followed by a light breath. /342/

k^{x} = (I do not think I am in error) a medio-guttural affricate, a very frequent sound in Čipaya.

Grammar

193 The few rules of grammar which can be deduced from the texts I collected will appear in the reading itself of this dictionary. I must point out, however, the existence of a sort of suffixed article, ki, frequently added to substantives: kerka: armadillo; kerkaki: the armadillo; k^{x}oya: house; k^{x}oyaki: the house, etc.

Gender exists in Čipaya; it manifests itself in some words, in the first place in the demonstrative adjective ti for the masculine and ta for the feminine, and in the ordinal adjective "a" tsi, tsa.

The masculine gender is indicated in certain cases by the presence of an a: usa (male child, boy); us (female child, little girl); sewa: widower; seu: widow, etc.

Vocabulary

Preliminary remarks

128 192 I have indicated the root for each verb, which I tried to disengage from the different forms which were given me by my informants. In doubtful cases I have left the burden of decision to the reader. The verbs for which I had only one example have been written down such as they are.

/342 cont./

128
192 As I have already had the occasion to say, words of foreign origin are marked with an asterisk: * for Aymara, ** for Spanish, and *** for Kiču̯a.

Words common to both Aymara and Kiču̯a have been considered as borrowings from the former language. Words of hybrid composition have been separated by a hyphen mark. Asterisks indicate the provenance of the foreign element.

When words with different roots correspond to a single idea, they are enumerated one after another if the number of instances is limited, and separated in paragraphs if they are numerous.

Every word the translation of which is doubtful has been followed by a question mark. /The word list, pp. 342-387, the texts, pp. 387-393, and the bibliography, pp. 393-394, have been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

/170 cont./

*539 731 178 433 511 23. We are going to sell them to the people of the other race, at three for one real.

/171/ Remarks

*539 731 178 161 433 This account, dictated by an old Uru about 90 years old, Manuel Inta, is a commentary on the wide dispersal of the Uru, undoubtedly permanent, after a series of years of drought, 1940 to 1946. In 1944 there were only a few old people in their old village of Iru-Itu. The drought had destroyed the vast swamps of the Desaguadero and their reed fields, the source of all the activity of these Indians, bringing about the disappearance of the conditions which had made it possible for them to maintain their ethnic individuality in the midst of the Aymara populations. These complaints express the bitterness of the old Urus, fishers and gatherers, obliged, in order not to starve to death, to change their economy, working [167] in the fields of their Aymara neighbors. The young Urus have dispersed, some having mingled with the Aymara or Amaracized fishers of Lake Titicaca, others having established themselves in Aymara villages or communities.

*539 192 193 [101] wáki, Bolivian village of Guaqui,, on the small lake. ὸx'ǩa, literally, "different," the people of another race, the Aymaras. Note the particle čᵘ intercalated between the root and the ending of the verb: Káya -čᵘčay, tánáču- čay, lúx-káču -čay, in order to reinforce the idea expressed by the verb and to indicate a customary action. The particle ki intercalated between the root of the verb and the ending čay indicates the future. The verb Káči- čay means "to engage in business," "to sell" as well as "to buy," or "to earn money." *539 192 tumíni, a tomin (old Spanish coin): a word unknown to the present lake Aymaras but still used by some natives of the Puno region.

Note three other Hispanicisms: 1.. kustúmbro, "custom"; 5. isú-čay, esto or eso, "that"; 17. ni- únu, "this alone," from the Spanish uno, "one."

/171 cont./

*539 192 193 1. píni means "many"; with hána it may be rendered by "no more"; učúmi, exclusive personal pronoun /172/ for the first person plural. 2. šalák, probably the Spanish chacra, "cultivated field"; the Uru do not have their own word to designate fields. 4. The ending čay added to a root gives it [136] the verbal form. 6. xui, interrogative particle. 7. suche, small kind of sheatfish from the Titicaca region; it is the [824] Trichomycterus dispar. 8. totora, Scirpus totora, the reeds of Lake Titicaca used by the Uru to build their balsas, cover their houses, and for other uses. 12. ke-, particle of repeti- [101] tion. 14. tòxša, literally "other persons," designates all men other than the Uru; nak' for náka, plural form of pronouns.

*539 396 II. Manufacture of Balsas from Totoras
(Account by Manuel Inta)

(See p. 154 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. Let us go, as is our custom, to find totoras to make a [283] balsa. 2. We are accustomed to go far to make the straw ropes /necessities/. 3. Three days are needed to dry (the straw ropes). 4. The straw ropes are well dried now. 5. Now all these totoras are well dried. 6. Let us make the balsa. 7. A man cuts the totora. 8. The totora is tied (in bunches). 9. Three have to be made (bunches of totora): the heart (the middle spindle) and the two side spindles of the balsa. 10. We tie (the spindles); now we are going to squeeze them together very tightly, at first it takes two men to squeeze it together. 11. We have the custom of sprinkling (the totora) with water so that it does not dry. 12. Now we are going to tighten; to tighten we are accustomed to use a hook. 13. We beat (the totora) with /173/ a rock (in order to compress it).

/176 cont./

*539 223 sell it. 46. We must return with this one; let's return. 47. There are no more. 48. We go along in vain. 49. We have looked everywhere; there are no more. 50. We are going to carry everything to the house.

Remarks

*539 226 223 This text is divided into three parts. In a short introduction (1-9) the narrator explains the fishing customs of the Uru, and then he describes a day of fishing and hunting aquatic birds in the swamps of the Desaguadero: the departure (10-14), the work of the catcher, who hits the water with a boat hook to direct the frightened fish toward the nets (15-16); fishing for suche (Trichomycterus dispar), a silurus /sheatfish/, which is the largest fish in the lake, reaching 30/35 cm., captured by means of a long three-meter spear ending in multiple points (17-27); and lastly, hunting for coots (Fulica gigantea and Fulica americana) forced into flight and then killed with the boat hooks (30-34) or captured with bolas with wooden balls (35-42). The captured coots are killed by a bite at the head (44). Then comes the return (45-50). This account is very lively.

*539 ●192 193 There are no special words for fishing or hunting; only the verb tána-čay, literally, "to take," is used.

From the point of view of grammar the text furnishes interesting verbal forms, in particular, the forms indicating the usual -čučay, as in the previous texts; the form -čáčay (46), implying the idea of obligation; the double use of the root (8) to reinforce the idea expressed by the verb. Moreover, the frequency of the euphonic letters s and l: 2, 5, 8, etc., should be emphasized.

This text contains two Hispanicisms: the first is very curious (8); in order to better render the idea of solitude, alone, absolutely alone, the narrator has repeated the word "one," /177/ but by pairing the Uru word tína, "alone," with the

/177 cont./

*539 192 193 Spanish word uno /"one"/. In 9 the Spanish word voluntad (will) is deformed into pulúntá, as v does not exist in Uru, but it keeps the Spanish tonic accent.

IV. Nocturnal Fishing
(Account by Manuel Inta)

(See p. 161 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

*539 226 1. We are accustomed to fish at night. 2. We are accustomed to fish in darkness. 3. But how can one see at night? 4. One can easily see the fish moving about. 5. We cover ourselves with the sail to keep from being cold.

Remarks

[132] The Uru often go fishing at night in their fishing enclosures, and in order not to suffer from the intense cold and the icy wind, they shelter themselves under the totora sails of their craft.

*539 192 193 1. The form maká- xe, "by night," "in the darkness," is analogous to tom- xe, "today," "on this day," and to num- xe, "by day." 3. kún, an interrogative particle, "how," is accompanied by the pure root of the verb. 4. kíre, "fish," is often pronounced kíri. 5. sráp'- pa indicates finality and may be added either to a verb root or to a substantive form or adjective, as is the case here.

/179 cont./

*539 115 191 The whole of this text, the phonetics as well as the vocabulary and syntax, is less correct than the accounts of old Manuel Inta, who belongs to the generation prior (he is nearly 90 years old) to that of the new narrator (Carlos Kispe), who is about 50 years old.

*539 191 192 1. puKáta is an Aymara word, a language which the informant knows rather well; húxk'-čáč' for huxk'-ačáčay, "we can depart." The narrator sometimes says čurk, and sometimes čork or čark, literally, "large," "strong"; this form indicates the superlative here. 3. The Uru have no special word for the mast; they simply call it "the wood" of the sail. 8. The correct form would be šaxka-čúčay. 9. The narrator moreover has a tendency to transform the final -čay into -ča (6) or to elide it into ač' (1); he always omits it with substantives and adjectives. 12. The informant says Kás-si instead of the correct form k^{w}á-si, "water." He often confuses e and i, sometimes saying čúke and sometimes čúki.

VI. The Fishing Enclosure
(Account by Manuel Inta)

(See p. 163 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

*539 226 1. This is a fishing enclosure. 2. This enclosure is made to catch fish. 3. We are accustomed to closing the entrance (of the enclosure) with a net. 4. We lift the net quickly with this stick. 5. On this river there is another net. 6. There are enclosures for each of us, very far away from each other. 7. Thus each of us can fish.

/182 cont./

*539 161 829 the Aymara used by the Uru, who consider themselves as constituting a pre-human species (not a race) apart. There are two human species, the Uru, a primitive species representing the first, pre-human creations, and the Aymara, who belong, as do all the other present-day people, to the last creation.

*539 192 [648] 15. Note a Hispanicism, kumunitá, to designate the native community of Jesus de Machaca, upon which the Uru are now dependent; it is an idea which is foreign to their own sociology.

16-17. The narrator, tired by his interpretive efforts, has no more to say and wants to rest. Note the polite form háp'- pay, [576] father," corresponding to "monsieur."

*539 821

VIII. Xoxi-cay, the Thunder
(Account by Carlos Kispe)

(See p. 166 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. It will still thunder very strongly; the storm is coming. 2. The roof of the house will let the water through; it is not good at all. 3. Look again to see if the storm is going away. 4. It is thundering again. 5. The thunder can only kill a person of another race. 6. Never, since the most ancient times, has the thunder killed one of us. 7. The thunder has made me very afraid.

Remarks

This text makes allusion to a very deeply rooted belief among the Uru: they cannot be struck by lightning, so feared [829] by all the populations of the altiplano. According to them lightning only strikes the people "of another race": Aymaras, half-breeds, or Europeans. Also the Uru do not have any

[pg 20 omitted in pagination.]

*539 /182 cont./ also the Uru do not have any
82 apachete /piles of stones in the hills/, offering places /183/
[118] at spots struck by lightning, whereas these little monuments
[191] are very frequent among all the neighboring native populations.
[152] However, our informant, an Uru, Carlos Kispe, is very frightened
[829] of storms. The reason for this is undoubtedly that only the pure
Uru enjoy this immunity, not bastards nor those of mixed blood.
[848] Now our informant, although part of the Uru group, was father-
less, "hána hep' šeš- čay," "no father is," "an illegitimate
son," a very frequent case, whose father is unknown. He did
not at all insist on submitting to the test of lightning to be
[761] assured of his pure Uru ancestry. If an Uru is struck by thunder,
[829] drowned, or even dies of pneumonia -- dangers against which
[848] the true Uru are protected -- everyone sees it as indisputable
proof of illegitimate and foreign paternity.

*539 From the point of view of vocabulary this text shows the
191 same irregularities as the preceding text by the same informant
● 192 (V) /see p. 15/ frequent elisions of final vowels: ča instead of
čay; the repeated use (1-7) of wáli, "much," an Aymara form
not found in the texts nor in the numerous phrases gathered
from the other informant. 2. wáli- píní, association of an
Aymara word and an Uru word with the same meaning to rein-
force the idea; we find an analogous case in ti- hún (5), the
Uru-Spanish association already noted. 2. hána Kála či čúña,
"not good good is," association of two words of almost identical
meaning to reinforce the idea: "this is not good at all." 3. The
particle -kála after the verb "to go" has the exact meaning
of ex in Latin, literally exit. 4. The correct form would be
war- tis. 6. háske indicates a very distant fact, an idea still
more strengthened by the suffix -ta, sign of the past: "a very
long time ago."

/185/

*539 101 114 Urus." Some authors (Posnanski) have thought that ucúmi was the name which the Uru gave themselves in their own language. Fray Anontio de la Calancha already spoke of them by the *539 192 name of Ochozuma. awíri or awári designates the double of the person who lives on after the latter's death; our informant [1975] also uses the Spanish word alma (5), "the soul"; but he never used the word for defunct or dead, tíkistíkni-čay, literally, "that which is stretched out," designating the corpse, which [193] is not the object of any ceremony. 2. The verb pít'-čkíčay means "to offer alcohol or chicha to a spirit"; here we have the imperative indicated by the prefix ču followed by the pure root. 5. škít- ti designates clothes in general.

*539 124

X. Conversation with the Two Informants: Carlos Kispe and Manuel Inta

(See p. 168 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. C. K.: These words which we have taught thee have tired us. 2. M. I.: My throat is dry from talking. 3. C. K.: [276] The coca is finished. 4. M. I.: There is no more coca at all. 5. C. K.: Give us some brandy. 6. Investigator: I shall give [273] thee some. 7. M. I.: I shall drink, oh father (formula of politeness before drinking). They drink. 8. M. I.: Be very alert, oh father (formula of politeness after drinking). [126] 9. C. K.: Thou hast made a picture of us two (C. K. and his wife) next to each other; thou wilt send it to us. 10. Investigator: Good, I shall send thee this picture; why dost thou ask for it? 11. C. K.: When my wife dies I shall look at her picture. 12. M. I.: Now we shall not say anything more to anyone.

/186/

Remarks

*539 124 This little, very lifelike scene shows the usual difficulties in any ethnological investigation; the informants tire quickly, and the investigator is harassed by requests. Our two informants however were excellent.

*539 ●192 193 1. The suffix náka indicates the plural; takú means "word," "speech," "language." 2. s- kõ- čay is used for kõ- čay, the s is euphonic; compare s- mír- háčay in 9. 4. A typical example of an adjective assuming a verbal form: wáka means "all"; by adding kíčay, the past suffix, the word "all she has been," is formed. 5. awáritiš is the Spanish word, aguardiente, eau-de-vie /brandy/. 7. líka-čay, "I shall drink," formula of politeness before drinking. 8. húwa means "quick," "lively," "agile," and in a figurative sense, "intelligent," "quick-witted"; here it is a wish used as a formula of thanking; háp'- pay, "father," a frequently used honorific used for "monsieur." 9. kẹ- skéču; the repetition of the first syllable of the word has the value of a superlative: "very, very close"; litrát is the Spanish word retrato, portrait.

[115] 11. The informant, about 60 years old, hopes very much to die after his wife, who is, however, less than 40 years old. I am not absolutely sure of the transcription of tíkš' na- tačíkni; it is a future form of dead, literally, "who is stretched out."

[191] In this whole dialogue one will notice the rather different phonetics of the two informants. Thus čis- čay, "to talk," sometimes becomes či- čay; Carlos Kispe often leaves off endings in čay- ; he even often leaves off final syllables or letters.

/188 cont./
*539 193 would be tukú- nua, "woman," "spouse." Note the placing of the particle áskę, "far," between the root and the ending of the verb.

*539 121 It was interesting to publish these texts, which make possible some useful comparisons with Orés Pukina text, which will be the subject of our next note, and with Métraux's three Chipaya texts.

*539 190 [194] Considerable phonetic differences exist between Uru and Chipaya. For example, the ending čai, so characteristic of Uru but which already is tending to become ča or to be dropped, becomes ja in Chipaya. Chipaya pronunciation is much harder, with a greater frequency of gutterals, no doubt as a [192] result of Aymara influence. The Chipaya vocabulary contains a much higher proportion of Aymara, Keŝwa, and even Spanish words, and this does not originate solely from the nature of the texts gathered by Métraux: the trip of a Chipaya to Chile, and life in the barracks; one finds the same character in his second text, describing life in the fields. Outside this variable proportion of foreign words, differences in vocabulary are slight.

[193] The syntax of the two groups is identical, but nevertheless much less varied in Chipaya.

All this underlines the close linguistic affinities of these [184] two groups. It is the same language, practically extinct, spoken by two small, completely separated populations; it is better preserved among the Uru and more altered among the Chipaya, and already displays considerable variations from one generation to another within the same group.

*539 184 The differences are much more marked in the very content, rather than form, of the texts. The Uru mainly describe their work as fishermen and, to some extent, their customs. Métraux was able only with difficulty to obtain from the Chipaya a few phrases on their work /189/ in the fields and on animal husbandry, and his texts are mainly accounts of

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193 gender, know both prefixes and suffixes (but predominantly the latter), and also, in all probability have some forms of incorporation. But more material (texts, etc.) is needed to complete a satisfactory grammatical sketch. Reduplication appears to be not infrequent.

192 [191] All the Uru of Ancoaqui speak Aymará well, though few of them know Spanish. Aymará influence in vocabulary has been pointed out by Métraux.[16] Spanish influence is second in importance in borrowings, and Quechua a poor third: according to my calculations, in Métraux' vocabulary and textual examples identifiable as non-Uran, of 630 total listings of words, 63 or 10% are Aymará, 20 or 3% are Spanish in origin, and only 8 or 1.3% are Quechuan. Polo (page 479) notes four Aymará, perhaps three Quechua, and fourteen Spanish loan-words in Uru.

171 199 *Tribal Relations.* In any case, long contact with the Aymára is to be argued from the many Aymarisms in Uru culture, though of course nearly all of these are common *altiplano* possessions: the chewing of coca, the use of Aymára-like *gorros* or knitted llama-wool "toboggan-" caps for males, the use of *takia* and *t'ola* as fuel (as with all *altiplano* dwellers, including the whites, although there are unexploited coal beds south of Lake Titicaca), use of the *pinkillu*-flute and other musical instruments, the Aymára-like brush-comb and many other articles of material culture, washing the hair in urine, the Aymára modification of colonial Spanish male clothing, the belief in and interpretation of dreams, some family names (e.g. Quispi, Inta), color-names, and vocabulary in general. Save in religion and other aspects of non-material culture, the Uru, like the Chipaya, is little different from general Aymára-Quechua *altiplano* culture, though because of relative isolation the Uru may have preserved elements of this Incasica culture from pre-Spanish times somewhat better than some of these original groups themselves.

144 [164] [178] *Physical Anthropology.* Uru males outnumber the females, and for some time they have been taking wives from among the Aymára. In so long a period of contact with their neighbors of so numerically small a group, much mixture of blood is inevitable; yet the preservation of their language is an earnest of a certain amount of social and biological isolation. Only four [55] family names were encountered at Ancoaqui: Inta, Šalina, Bila and Qispi [62] (for taxation purposes family names are used with Spanish given names), hence inbreeding may have intensified racial features otherwise diluted by 142 the occasional intermarriages with the Aymára. The Uru, particularly the younger individuals, have pleasant almond-shaped eyes, with a distinct

[16] Métraux (JSAP 27), pp. 90–110.

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native names for so exiguous a number of scientific varieties. These occur in the species: *O. Cuvieri, O. Pentlandi, O. Humboldti, O. Jussieui, O. Bairdii, O. Orbonnii, O. frontosus, and O. Neveui.* Of the *Trichomycteri* (Aymara *suči, mauri;* Uru *čisi*) these species are present: *T. dispar Tschudi,* and *T. rivulatus.* Other native names for fish, which I have been unable to identify clearly with the scientific classifications are: (Aymará) *qesi-čauła, qesintuu, kuri-mauri, umantú, ƙarači;* (Uru) *teri, čis, čaki, okʷulu, čalkiri,* and *wakʷluli* —whence it appears that the natives give separate names to the male and female of the same species.

Fish are preserved and prepared in several ways. The smaller kinds (*ispi, sačała, učkerčula*), salted and toasted, are carried and eaten dry on journeys. The larger varieties (*suči, mauri, čisi*) are salted, scaled, boned, and stretched out between stones in a slow, smoky fire, and thus smoke-dried are preserved for periods of scarcity, according to Posnansky. But what appears to be the same process, described by Palavecino, is evidently a method of *cooking:*

> These ovens, which the Uru call *vaxaña*, consist in a hole dug in the soil, whose depth, equal to the diameter, is about 60 cm. The rounded edge is raised at the surface of the ground, and the entire interior is plastered with clay. The Uru light a fire in it and introduce more or less flat stones. When the stones are incandescent, they take them out, all except those on the bottom. They lay on these a layer of fish, on which is placed a second bed of stones, then a layer of fish, and so on until the oven is full. It is closed with stones, and covered with reeds. The fish is thus cooked by steaming.

Métraux notes that this is a very ancient type of earth oven in South America.

Hunting is almost as important to the Uru as fishing, neither of which is basic in Chipaya economy. The river marshes abound with birds of many kinds: waterhens (*wesla, čokχa*), ducks (*soχna*), geese (*waɬata*), loons (*paƙo*), herons (*ačiči*), various diving birds and gulls; a large unidentified black bird they call *čiwanku* or *čičinksa.* Other unidentified birds are: *čelita, kačuwaina* (*waina* is Aymará for "youth, young man"), *ašowa, čorani.* Of these aquatic birds, only the "bobo" (*paƙo*) is not hunted or eaten, because of its rank, oily flesh. Most frequently hunted is a kind of red duck called *p'anasoχna.*

The Uru hunt birds by several methods. Posnansky says men hunting alone in the early morning disguise themselves in bunches of reeds, slowly approach the birds who are still stupefied by the cold of the night, then, grabbing them by the feet, they quickly kill the birds by biting the head or twisting the neck. The Uru are able users of slingshots woven or braided of varicolored llama-wools; and they also use *bolas,* made with two large